

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06  
IO-13 HA-05 CU-04 DOE-11 SOE-02 OMB-01 /095 W  
-----029099 171709Z /43

R 171539Z MAR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6968  
INFO AMCONSUL DURBAN  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 542

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, SF  
SUBJ: BUTHELEZI ADDRESSES FIRST PUBLIC MEETING OF SOUTH  
AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE

REF: (A) CAPE TOWN 292, (B) DURBAN 023

SUMMARY: THE ALLIANCE OF AFRICAN/COLORED/INDIAN PARTIES  
FORMED IN JANUARY THIS YEAR IN ULUNDI (REF B) HAS BEEN  
OFFICIALLY DESIGNATED THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE (SABA).  
CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI ANNOUNCED THIS AT THE FIRST PUBLIC  
MEETING OF THE SABA HELD MARCH 13 IN CAPE TOWN. OVERFLOW  
AUDIENCE (.9 5)6 :9)943\$) APPLAUDED BUTHELEZI ENTHUSIASTICALLY.  
SMALL BUT DETERMINED GROUP OF STUDENTS HECKLED PERSISTENTLY  
AND DOMINATED QUESTION/ANSWER SESSION AT END OF MEETING.  
OUR PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH LABOR PARTY LEADERS INDICATE  
THAT LITTLE DETAILED PLANNING WAS ACCOMPLISHED ON SPECIFIC  
FUTURE ACTIVITIES. NONETHELESS, LAUNCHING OF SABA WAS  
CONSIDERED SUCCESS BY ITS LEADERS. ANALYSIS OF ITS POSSIBLE  
FUTURE IMPACT ON BLACK POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA FOLLOWS  
SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

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1. CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI, ADDRESSING OVERFLOW CROWD OF  
MORE THAN 1,000 PEOPLE AT ATHLONE CIVIC CENTER IN COLORED  
CAPE TOWN SUBURB MARCH 13, ANNOUNCED THAT THE  
ALLINACE FORMED IN JANUARY BY HIS INKATHA, THE COLORED  
LABOR PARTY AND THE INDIAN REFORM PARTY HAS BEEN OFFICIALLY  
NAMED THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE (SABA). MEETING  
WAS CHAIRED BY LABOR PARTY OFFICIAL RE. ALLAN HENDRICKSE AND

WAS ADDRESSED BY LEADERS OF ALL THREE PARTIES.

2. LEADERS OF THE ALLIANCE MET PRIVATELY DURING THE DAY OF MARCH 13 AND ADOPTED A PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION. AFTERWARDS A PRESS CONFERENCE WAS HELD AT WHICH IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT BUTHELEZI HAD BEEN NAMED LEADER OF SABA. IT WAS ALSO ANNOUNCED THAT WHILE RULING PARTY OF QWAQWA "HOMELAND" HAD JOINED THE ALLIANCE, THE EXPECTED APPOICATION OF THE NATIONAL INDIAN CONGRESS (NIC) HAD NOT RPT NOT BEEN RECEIVED. PRESS CONFERENCE WAS INFORMED THAT MEETING HAD ADOPTED RESOLUTION CONDEMNING THE "DESPICABLE VIOLENCE" USED AGAINST BUTHELEZI AT ROBERT SOBUKWE FUNERAL (CAPE TOWN 0486) AND COMMENDING HIM FOR "EXEMPLARY MANNER IN WHICH HE MET THE PROVOCATION...".

3. IN HIS OPENING REMARKS AT THE PUBLIC MEETING, HENDRICKSE INTRODUCED BUTHELEZI AS SABA LEADER AND REFERRED TO THOSE WHO HAD BEEN "INSTIGATED" TO ACT AGAINST HIM AT THE FUNERAL. HENDRICKSE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT NOT ALL BLACKS WOULD AGREE WITH SABA AND STRESSED THAT SABA CONSIDERED ITSELF AS ONLY ONE STRATEGY AND NOT AS THE STRATEGY FOR ACHIEVING BLACK FREEDOM. HE REMARKED POINTEDLY THAT SABA ASKED ONLY THAT THOSE WHO DISAGREED SHOULD DIRECT THEIR EFFORTS AGAINST "THE COMMON ENEMY".

4. CHINSAMY, LEADER OF REFORM PARTY, DELIVERED STRAIGHT-CONFIDENTIAL

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FORWARD SPEECH IN WHICH HE REITERATED, TO GREAT APPLAUSE, PREVIOUSLY-STATED REASONS WHY INDIANS AND COLOREDS REJECT SAG'S NEW CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS. HE ALSO DREW WARM APPLAUSE IN SAYING THAT SABA REPRESENTED FIRST TIME THAT THESE THREE GROUPS HAD JOINED TO LAY FOUNDATION FOR BALCK UNITY, THAT IF CHAOS COMES IT WILL BE DUE TO "WHITE MAN'S IDEOLOGY OF BAASKAAP" AND THAT COLOREDS AND INDIANS WILL JOIN WITH THEIR BLACK "BROTHERS AND SISTERS" RATHER THAN "SEEKING SHELTER IN WHITE LAAGER" (THUNDEROUS APPLUASE).

5. LABOR PARTY LEADER SONNY LEON DELIVERED SOMEWHAT RAMBLING SPEECH PUNCTUATED BY CATCALLS AND INTERJECTIONS FROM SMALL GROUP OF YOUNG COLORED AND AFRICAN STUDENTS WHO OBJECTED TO HIS REMARK THAT BUTHELEZI OPPONENTS AT SOBUKWE FUNERAL WERE "THUGS" AND BUREAU OF STATE SECURITY (BOSS) AGENTS. LEON AND STUDENTS TRADED CHARGES OF "STOOGES," "TRAITOR", ETC. PERIODICALLY DURING HIS SPEECH. HE DREW FREQUENT APPLAUSE, HOWEVER, WITH EMOTIONAL REMARKS SUCH AS, "TIME HAS COME TO TELL WHITES, TAKE YOUR DIRTY FOOT OFF OUR NECKS" AND "GROUP AREAS ACT WAS AN ACT OF

THEFT, WE MUST TELL WHITES TO GIVE BLACK WHAT BELONGS TO US". HIS COMMENT THAT SA IS "POLICE STATE" USING "GESTAPO" TACTICS TO DESTROY CREDIBILITY OF PRESENT LEADERS DREW SHOUTED RETORT FROM STUDENT "THEY'RE ALL ON ROBBER ISLAND".

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6. BUTHELEZI DELIVERED LONG SPEECH (OVER AN HOUR) WHICH AT TIMES DREW ENTHUSIASTIC APPLAUSE BUT AT TIMES THREATENED TO LOSE AUDIENCE ATTENTION AS HE READ LONG EXTRACTS FROM CRITICAL AND GENERALLY REPETITIVE EDITORIALS IN VARIOUS PRO-SAG NEWSPAPERS AND THEN PROCEEDED LABORIOUSLY TO REBUT EACH AND EVERY ONE. BUTHELEZI TERMED "A ROTTEN LIE" THE ACCUSATION THAT ALLIANCE WAS DESIGNED TO FURTHER ZULU INTERESTS AND HIS PERSONAL INTERESTS AT EXPENSE OF COLOREDS AND INDIANS AND SAID IT WAS PART OF "DIVIDE AND RULE" TACTICS. HE SAID SABA WANTS PEACEFUL CHANGE AND WAS NOT TRYING TO CREATE CONFRONTATION AND POLARIZATION. RATHER, IT WAS SAG POLICY WHICH CAUSED POLARIZATION. RESPONDING TO CRITICAL INTERJECTIONS FROM STUDENTS, BUTHELEZI ACCUSED THEM OF BEING "BOSS" AGENTS. AT ONE POINT IN HIS SPEECH BUTHELEZI SAID IT WAS "NO SECRET" THAT WHEN HE TRAVELLED ABROAD HE WAS IN TOUCH WITH ANC AND PAC REPRESENTATIVES. DENYING CHARGES THAT HE WAS DISLOYAL TO ANC LEADER NELSON MANDELA, BUTHELEZI DRAMATICALLY CALLED TO THE STAGE TWO MEN, A MR. ZULU AND A MR. FERRUS, WHO HE SAID HAD RECENTLY BEEN RELEASED FROM ROBBER ISLAND, WHERE THEY HAD BEEN

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IN TOUCH WITH MANDELA, AND WHO NOW SUPPORTED SABA.

7. BUTHELEZI EXPLAINED IN GENERAL TERMS THE PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE (TO UNITE ALL "OPPRESSED", I.E., BLACK PEOPLE, TO FORMULATE A COMMON STRATEGY IN STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID AND TO PREPARE THE GROUNDWORK FOR CALLING OF A NATIONAL CONVENTION OF ALL SOUTH AFRICANS TO WORK OUT A NON-RACIAL CONSTITUTION. HE SAID THAT WITHOUT WANTING "TO TALK BIG", HE THOUGHT SABA COULD PROVE TO BE THE BLACK ORGANIZATION WITH WHICH PRIME MINISTER VORSTER MIGHT EVENTUALLY HAVE TO NEGOTIATE. BUTHELEZI SPOKE VAGUELY OF STUDY GROUPS BEING FORMED TO EVALUATE VARIOUS CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS AND OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS IN WHICH PEOPLE AT GRASS-ROOTS LEVEL COULD WORK TOGETHER AND THUS TRY TO OVERCOME THE EFFECTS OF YEARS OF ENFORCED SEPARATION BUT OFFERED NO FURTHER DETAILS ON FUTURE ALLIANCE ACTIVITIES. HE ANNOUNCED THAT NEXT MEETING OF SABA WOULD TAKE PLACE IN DURBAN IN JUNE.

8. FOLLOWING BUTHELEZI'S SPEECH, HEDRICKSE ANNOUNCED THAT QUESTIONS FROM AUDIENCE WOULD BE TAKEN AND INVITED THOSE WISHING TO PUT QUESTIONS TO COME FORWARD TO USE MICROPHONE. STUDENT CRITICS IMMEDIATELY FORMED QUE ON STAGE AND BEGAN PUTTING VERY HEATED QUESTIONS, ASKING ESSENTIALLY WHY BUTHELEZI AND LABOR PARTY CONTINUED TO PARTICIPATE IN APARTHEID INSTITUTIONS AND DRAW "APARTHEID SALARIES". BOTH HENDRICKSE AND BUTHELEZI SHOWED OBVIOUS ANNOYANCE AND EITHER DISMISSED QUESTIONS AS IRRELEVANT OR RETORTED THAT STUDENTS THEMSELVES LIVED IN APARTHEID TOWNSHIPS AND ATTENDED APARTHEID UNIVERSITIES. WHEN ONE STUDENT BEGAN ACCUSING BUTHELEZI OF EXPLOITING ROBBEN ISLAND

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PRISONERS, BUTHELEZI INTERRUPTED BY FORCIBLY TAKING THE MICROPHONE AWAY. SHORTLY THEREAFTER HENDRICKSE DECLARED THE MEETING CLOSED AND OVERRODE STUDENTS' PROTESTS BY LEADING AUDIENCE IN SIGNING THE AFRICAN NATIONAL ANTHEM.

9. IN PRIVATE DISCUSSION WITH CONGENOFF NEXT DAY, ALBRO PARTY LEADERS EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE SATISFACTION, NOTING OVERFLOW CROWD AND GENERAL WARMTH OF AUDIENCE AND

MINIMIZING IMPORTANCE OF STUDENT HECKLERS. WITH REGARD TO FUTURE ACTIVITIES THEY SAID BULK OF TIME AT MARCH 13 MEETING HAD BEEN SPENT WORKING OUT NEW CONSTITUTION (WILL OBTAIN AND FORWARD COPY IN NEAR FUTURE) AND REACHING AGREEMENT ON NEW NAME. THEY SAID BUTHELEZI HAD INITIALLY SHOWN PREFERENCE FOR "SOUTH AFRICAN NON-RACIAL ALLIANCE" RATHER THAN "BLACK ALLIANCE" BUT HAD EVENTUALLY ACCEDED TO ARGUMENTS OF COLOREDS AND INDIANS THAT THE LATTER WOULD NOT CARRY UNDESIRABLE CONNOTATIONS OF AFRICAN DOMINANCE. IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS ON HOW CONSTITUTIONAL STUDY GROUPS WOULD BE SET UP, WHAT KINDS OF COMMUNITY PROJECTS WERE BEING CONSIDERED AND GENERAL TIME FRAME FOR CALLING NATIONAL CONVENTION, LABOR LEADERS SAID SUCH DETAILS HAD NOT BEEN ADDRESSED AND WOULD HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT BY THE NINE-MAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

10. REACTIONS TO SABA ALLIANCE, POSSIBLE AFFECTS OF ANTAGONISM BETWEEN BUTHELEZI AND MILITANT BLACKS AS DISPLAYED AT ALLIANCE MEETING AND SOBUKWE FUNERAL AND LIKELY ROLE OF THE ALLINACE IN FUTURE BLACK POLITICS WILL BE DISCUSSED SEPTEL.

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## Message Attributes

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**Type:** TE  
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